

Senator Penrose charges amounted to \$3,000,000. The Taft and Wilson primary campaign contributions also will come within the scope of the investigation.

Senator Penrose himself moved for this investigation to-day and it was very apparent that he is eager to lift the lid wide open. Senator Reed of Missouri offered an amendment providing for the investigation into the primary campaign funds. The passage of the Penrose resolutions and the amendment were presented to-night by the objection of Senator Poinsett, a Roosevelt supporter, but they will be put through to the Senate to-morrow.

The inquiry will be conducted by the subcommittee on Privileges and Elections which has been investigating campaign contributions. The committee was authorized to sit after Congress adjourns. Senator Clapp, a Roosevelt supporter, is chairman and the other members are Senators Paynter and Lea, Democrats, and Senators Oliver and Bradley, Republicans.

Democrats and Republicans on the campaign contributions developments and most of the Republicans are correspondingly depressed. The politics of the situation is becoming more and more complicated.

That Penrose and some of the other old time leaders are determined to unlock the closet doors and lug out the party skeletons. They are going to tell them they have known a long time but about which they always spoke in whispers. They are going to open up on Roosevelt and take the country into their confidence in regard to his campaign.

Whether Mr. Taft will be the gainer or not from this is doubtful, but the next few weeks are certain to be filled with stirring events.

Senator Reed's Questions.

Senator Reed of Missouri started the day's disclosures by questioning Senator Penrose in regard to the statements he made yesterday. Reed called attention to the fact that the Archibald letter mentioning the \$25,000 payment to him was dated October 18, 1904. The \$25,000 paid to Penrose, was part of the \$125,000 that Standard Oil contributed to the Roosevelt campaign, the balance of \$100,000 going direct to Cornelius N. Bliss, the National Committee's treasurer.

"The letter," said Senator Reed, "bears the purported date of October 18 and is addressed to the National Committee. The Senator states whether the \$100,000 which was also paid by the Standard Oil people was paid on or prior to the 13th day of October."

"My understanding," replied Penrose, "was that it was paid on or about that time, perhaps a little time before that. Just how it was paid I do not know exactly at this time and I am positive that those details will come out in the investigation. I am sure that the committee made by the Committee on Privileges and Elections. As near as I can recall it now, the check to the National Committee was given early in the month of October."

"I want to ask the Senator," said Mr. Reed, "what he has to say to the statement of President Roosevelt as it appears in the Washington Post of this morning."

This was a statement in which Mr. Roosevelt quoted a letter written by him in October, 1904, warning George B. Cortelyou, his national chairman, not to accept any contribution from the Standard Oil Company and to return the money if the contribution had been made. According to the statement, Mr. Cortelyou informed him no contribution had been made.

Roosevelt Letter Related.

"That statement is said to have been made in the latter part of October," said Senator Reed, "and I am sure that the Senator from Pennsylvania whether or not his knowledge is that the money ever was paid, I refer to the \$100,000 of the National Committee and if so, whether it was ever returned."

"As I understand the Senator has the paper there before him with the date of the letter or alleged letter to Mr. Cortelyou about the 21st of October, is it not?" asked Senator Penrose.

"The statement is made the latter part of October," said Reed, "and the date is given."

"The Roosevelt letter," said the Pennsylvania Senator, "was sent about a week before the election. It was several weeks after both the election and the date of the letter referred to yesterday, namely the payment of \$100,000 to Mr. Bliss and the declaration of a request for a further amount of \$100,000. The letter was sent to the chairman of the National Committee. The date indicates that."

"As I understand the Senator, then, the letter had been received before this letter of Mr. Roosevelt was dated," interrupted Reed.

"Yes, considerably before," said Penrose.

"Had the money been spent or was it on hand and was it, in fact, returned?" asked the Missouri Senator.

A Record for the Future.

"The information I have always had as to the transaction," said Mr. Penrose, "as every Senator and those in the galleries leaned forward with intense eagerness, was that Mr. Roosevelt was advised that the money had been spent and could not be returned, and the letter was sent to make a record for future reference."

Penrose uttered this serious charge in a quiet, matter-of-fact way as if he had been discussing the weather.

"Can the Senator, then, state to us whether in fact the letter was written with full knowledge that the money was drawn?" asked Mr. Reed.

"That is my information," was the reply. "That is my distinct information and also the information of many others."

"I desire to ask the Senator a further question," continued Reed. "Does he know of any large sums of money that were contributed to the Republican National Committee in 1904 and then returned to the donors?"

"The returning of a contribution is such a rare instance on the part of political committees that I do not recall any," said Senator Reed. "I do not recall any."

Senator Reed then turned to the record of Col. Roosevelt's reply to the Penrose statement of yesterday.

"The Sun" in the Record.

Senator Reed then sent to the clerk's desk a copy of the Sun's to-day and had read into the record the portion of the Washington despatch which disclosed that charges were about to be made that the Missouri Pacific and the Southern Pacific Railway each had contributed \$100,000 to the Roosevelt 1904 campaign fund. Senator Reed also instructed the clerk to read the following news from the Sun's despatch:

A circumstantial story was being told tonight of how a member of President Taft's Cabinet has knowledge that Roosevelt was aware of the contribution by the Standard Oil Company to the 1904 campaign. It is said that this member of the Cabinet entered Mr. Roosevelt's office while he was dictating a letter to the chairman of the National Committee warning him that the Standard Oil Company's contribution must not be accepted.

According to the story it was pointed out to Mr. Roosevelt that the contribution had been made ten or twelve days previous to the money had been spent and that it would be impossible to pay it back. Mr. Roosevelt is said to have remarked that the letter should at least go on the record.

When the clerk had finished Senator Reed said:

"I want to ask the Senator from Pennsylvania whether he has any knowledge now of the fact that the Missouri Pacific or the Gould interest contributed to this campaign fund of 1904."

"I have no direct knowledge," replied Mr. Penrose, "simply my information at the time that the contributions were made from those interests."



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that while he was actively engaged there with the committee he understood as a member of the committee that these interests had contributed heavily to the fund.

"That is correct. I was not in the close personal touch with the situation that I happen to be in relation to the particular Archibald contribution. My relation to that situation arises from the fact that half the counties in Pennsylvania are the original oil counties of the State and a large number connected with the oil interests are Pennsylvanians and Mr. Archibald was a citizen of Pennsylvania for a great many years and had been known to me since he had been a young man in Pittsburg, in Pennsylvania, long before he was worth a dollar. In that way I happened to be in touch with this particular situation in a way to know the details personally."

"While the Senator is on his feet," added Mr. Reed, "may I ask him another question? To what extent were the acts of the National Committee concealed from Mr. Roosevelt?"

Kept Telephone Busy.

"My observation of Mr. Roosevelt," replied Penrose, "has been that he was well calculated to have pretty superior knowledge about everything that was going on in the National Committee. I do not think there was a day and in some days an hour in the day that the chairman of the National Committee was not in communication with him over the telephone."

"Who was the chairman at that time?" asked Mr. Cortelyou.

"Formerly Mr. Roosevelt's secretary?"

"Can the Senator state to us what he knows in reference to the information conveyed to the President from time to time in regard to the program of the campaign and the funds that were contributed?"

"I assume," said Penrose, "that as chairman he was communicating every day and sometimes every hour of the day, and knowing the vigorous and energetic way with which Mr. Roosevelt pursued his political campaigns that he was not a child in the wilderness."

A titter ran over the Senate at this.

"Was he consulted with reference to campaigns as they went along regularly?"

Very Much Consulted.

"That is my impression," said Penrose. "Very much consulted. He absolutely named his Cabinet officer and former secretary as chairman of the National Committee and I do not recall any act of that chairman was dictated by his chief."

"Was Mr. Cortelyou at that time in the confidence of the President?" asked Reed.

"I never heard that he did," said Penrose, "and I do not imagine he had lost the confidence of the President during the three months of the campaign."

"He named the chairman of the National Committee as absolutely as he would name his stenographer or private secretary," said Penrose.

"I want to ask the Senator," added Reed, "if as a matter of fact President Roosevelt largely directed the campaign? What are the facts about that?"

Roosevelt Directed Campaign.

"I think he chiefly directed the campaign," replied Penrose.

"This point Senator Reed inserted into the record an editorial article in which it was said Roosevelt's chief ambition was to be fighting in battle."

"He was not a fighter," said Penrose, "because only yesterday I read in one of the August periodicals that Mr. Roosevelt's chief ambition was to kill a grizzly bear with a knife."

A sally of laughter greeted this remark.

Senator John Sharp Williams of Mississippi took occasion to set himself right with church folk on account of a few verses that he recited in the Senate several weeks ago ridiculing Roosevelt by paraphrasing the Apostles' Creed, Senator Williams contended he had only imitated Martin Luther, who wrote a paraphrase on the litany, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, who did the same thing.

"Of course," said Senator Williams, "everybody who listened to me knew I was not making fun of the creed but of Roosevelt and of the people who had raised him into the place of a demigod, if not a God. At that time offered what I had to say as an illustration of the blind hero worship of his followers. I did not think then that what I had to say would be so soon confirmed by his own followers. I now want to read what confirms it. There is a sweet old hymn beginning this way:

Follow, follow.

"I will follow Jesus. Everywhere he leads me. I will follow on."

"I have no selfish, servile instincts, but when I have helped in my way to sing this old old hymn I have felt it to the bottom of my bones."

I will follow Jesus.

"Everywhere he leads me. I will follow on."

At the Chicago convention this was

the rendition of the hymn. If any further proof were needed of the blind, absurd and fanatical devotion of the followers of demagogues I said in the former speech—they have erected him into a god now.

"I accuse these people of being sacrilegious in their blind hero demagogueship. Here is what I am informed they sang at the convention:

Follow, follow. We will follow Teddy. Anywhere he leads us. We will follow on. We will follow on."

Senator Williams referred to a resolution condemning him that had been adopted by the council of the Church of Latter Day Saints "held in the State of Pennsylvania and presided over by Archbishop Bill Flinn."

At this point Senator Penrose interrupted again.

"I hope," said he, "the Senator from Mississippi will not press this line of criticism too far. Anything that would bring about a condition where a crooked municipal contractor like William Flinn could lead in any kind of a chorus that approached a hymn is certainly progress upward."

"I dare not agree with the Senator from Pennsylvania," replied Senator Williams. "I do not desire to incur the odium theologian any further than I have already unwittingly and very innocently incurred it."

Williams Jabs Flinn.

Speaking of the creed, Senator Williams added:

"It is sacred to any man who respects himself and respects his fellow men and yet I found that a crowd of men in the National Committee, I do not know by no political or religious principle of any description up to that day, had canonized a man in which they had canonized a man to be a great sinner, an irreverent sort of man, and all this occurred under the superintendence of Archbishop Flinn in the city of Pittsburg, that good old Commonwealth. Why, I would have been less surprised if the present Senator from Pennsylvania (Penrose) had undertaken to read religious lessons to men of lesser pretense than I was when it came from Archbishop Flinn."

Mark it once more.

Follow, follow. We will follow Teddy. Anywhere he leads us. We will follow on."

"If there is any madness of demagogues worship and of hero worship to equal that in the history of the civilization of the United States," said Senator Williams.

Pestiferous in Interference.

"I do not believe," said Mr. Reed, "that Theodore Roosevelt was ignorant of that which took place in the Republican National Convention and in the Southern States."

"Does the Senator mean that \$3,000,000 was underwritten by Mr. Perkins and he is willing to take full responsibility, since Cornelius N. Bliss, the treasurer, is dead, and can make no reply to certain statements that have been made."

To Get Republican Nomination.

"No, I meant to state that the object of this enormous amount and unprecedented campaign fund," said Penrose, "was the ultimate control of the regular Republican Convention and the election held in June in Chicago which nominated Mr. Taft for President and Mr. Sherman for Vice-President. What untold millions of money were expended for the three years remaining to be developed."

At this Senator Borah of Idaho, a Republican Progressive with a leaning toward Roosevelt, interrupted.

"I am not going to say anything that prevented the campaign fund from having effect was the National Committee."

"The majority of the National Committee," continued Penrose, "exercised every opportunity possible to restrict and restrain the efforts to purchase colored Taft delegates at \$5,000 a head."

"I know that the National Committee took jurisdiction of that subject?"

"The National Committee spent many millions of money after some of these gentlemen wandered off the reservation," replied Penrose.

"Did the National Committee take jurisdiction of it, each individually?" asked Borah.

"The war board of the National Committee," said Penrose, "kept close watch on the proceedings as to some of these delegates who were not on the reservation wandered off at the time they applied their efforts to get them back."

Got the Delegates Back.

"I suppose the Senator is not prepared to state how they got them back?" said Penrose.

"We got them back by appealing to their manhood and their reputation for honor and integrity," replied Penrose.

"I never heard that the men who would wander off the reservation for the purpose of raising the price could not have very much manhood left to appeal to to get back."

"I should like to ask the Senator from Pennsylvania," said he, "whether the refusal of the Standard Oil people to give up the \$100,000 of which he told us was any part of the occasion of Mr. Roosevelt going from the citadels of the Standard Oil to the Morgan interests and planting his banners on its breast."

"As the Senator from Missouri is proceeding to describe the odious character of the Standard Oil Company," said Penrose, "I would remind him that perhaps if the requisition for \$150,000 had been honored it might have remained in the list of good trusts."

Senator Reed attacked George W. Perkins accordingly. He said that the Standard Oil Company was a corporation using it to corrupt the public. But for Roosevelt to stand and plead ignorance in the face of the evidence that he had collected money from these great corporations and using it to corrupt the public, he was a fraud and a liar.

"I should like to recall to the recollection of the Senator," said Penrose, "that Mr. Perkins had been wounded in the service of his master. That he was in the application of the funds of widows and orphans interested in life insurance companies and was acquitted on a demerit. He came up for the Senate campaign purposes and, according to my recollection, being applied in the campaign of 1904."

Reed Scores Roosevelt.

Reed turned to Roosevelt's recent explanation of how George W. Perkins had come to support him. He quoted Roosevelt's statement about Perkins turning to the colonel as an example for his (Perkins) children.

"What does any honest man think," asked Reed, "of a candidate for President who would stoop to impute upon an audience or upon the country that he had been joined by Mr. Perkins for the first time and that Mr. Perkins came in sackcloth and ashes repenting for his sins and seeking to make atonement by assisting in the regeneration of his country. That shows the hypocrisy, the cant and the false statement of the man who is posing to-day as the regulator of morals and as the champion of all honest citizens."

"His relations with Perkins not only have been intimate from that time, but they began prior to that time. I challenge your attention to the fact that this is not Mr. Perkins's first ascent into politics, that he is not a novice, a tenderfoot, a new man just introduced into the political arena. Oh, no; he has been in the arena since 1890 and before, and since 1890 his hands have gone into the efforts of corporations and corruption money has been brought forth strenuously until he is bringing it forth now."

Reed charged that the steel trust and the Morgan interests are behind Roosevelt at this time.

"They started their handy man Perkins out to finance his campaign and they thought they would win. They got in so deep before they knew that they could not back up and now they are standing before the American people almost apologizing for their existence, and Roosevelt is trying to preserve their honor and the people that Perkins is here as a man fit for repentance."

Again Senator Penrose interrupted.

"Understand the Senator to refer to the expenditure in the recent primary election for nomination for President?" asked Senator Penrose.

"I have not yet," replied Reed. "But if the Senator has any light turn it on."

Penrose Names \$5,000,000 Fund.

"I would be very glad to advise the Senator," said Penrose, "that there is quite a lot of information leading to the thought that the \$5,000,000 was underwritten by Mr. Perkins and his associates to nominate Mr. Roosevelt for President of the United States for their own personal purposes. I expect that there will be those having the proof who will endeavor to submit it to the proper committee of investigation of the Senate at the proper time."

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"The Senator was plainly startled at this announcement."

"Then may the gods bring about a speedy hearing," exclaimed Reed.

"The investigation of the fund in the history of the United States raised for a nomination was raised for Mr. Roosevelt at the primaries last winter and last spring," added Penrose.

"For nomination by what convention," asked Senator Stone.

"To be applied to the primaries in different States and for the carrying of the convention and the election in the Southern States," said Penrose.

"Does the Senator mean that \$3,000,000 was underwritten by Mr. Perkins and he is willing to take full responsibility, since Cornelius N. Bliss, the treasurer, is dead, and can make no reply to certain statements that have been made."

Cortelyou's Attitude.

This concluding passage of his testimony before the Senate committee is held to be a full explanation of Mr. Cortelyou's attitude.

"The treasurer of the National Committee during the time that I was at the head of the committee was Cornelius N. Bliss. He had been treasurer of the National Committee for several terms. He was a man of the highest social and business standing. He had been a member of the Cabinet, in the position of Secretary of the Interior, a man who had the absolute confidence and respect of all his associates."

"I do not believe for one minute that Mr. Bliss would have sanctioned any time dealings of a character that could not have been seen the light of day if it were proper and necessary that they should."

"Naturally with a man of that character in the position of treasurer, and in the hurried activities of a great national campaign, the proper organization indicated that he be allowed to do the work of his department, and that the heads of the other great departments, chosen for similar reasons, should be left to do and have responsibility for and supervision over those great departments."

"The very great and engrossing work of mapping out the organization throughout the country, such an organization as we conducted, which reached into every village and hamlet, and a multitude of details, would leave him no time to take up the details, and I refer more particularly to the general divisions of the work as organized under these more important heads."

Accepted Responsibility.

"But as to Mr. Bliss or the members of my executive committee, or any other of the higher officials, I want it to be distinctly understood that as far as the campaign was concerned I accepted gladly full and complete responsibility."

The following is said to be an accurate statement of Mr. Cortelyou's attitude on recent developments:

Throughout the entire campaign of 1904 he worked under tremendous pressure, for never before nor since did the work of the chairman of the National Committee make more demands upon him. It was only by dismissing from his mind at the end of each day the many things that came to his attention that day that he was able to obtain any sleep or rest, and then the usual amount he received was two or three hours. Since the events of the campaign occurred he has been Postmaster-General, Secretary of the Treasury, through two panics and has been in business and in politics. It is scarcely within the realm of possibility to mind at this time any particular event that occurred on a certain day at that time. In his testimony he merely gave his recollections to the best of his ability."

In view of certain statements that have been made, however, he is confident that incidents which have been given by others could not have occurred, because they are out of the realm of reasonable probability. While Clay Odell has testified that before the collection of the campaign funds began Mr. Cortelyou had promised him \$500,000 for the New York State campaign alone, Mr. Cortelyou at that time did not know that the National Committee would have half a million for the entire country, and as it turned out the committee gave only \$700,000 to all the States.

Never Went to Wall Street.

Statements have been made to the effect that during the 1904 campaign Mr. Cortelyou spent much of his time in Wall Street, was a visitor at 26 Broadway and had dealings with Mr. Archibald and others connected with the Standard Oil Company. During the entire campaign he never once set foot in Wall Street or its vicinity and never met Mr. Archibald until long after the election and then in connection with a matter that had no connection with the campaign."

He had never met any of the men associated with him, Mr. Rockefeller, Mr. Rogers or any one else. Because the work of that campaign was conducted in a manner that has never been equalled for effectiveness the view of certain circles that he must have been working with the cooperation of Wall Street. When Mr. Cortelyou accepted full responsibility.

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His letter to Judge Parker and the correspondence made public last night covered the matter completely, he said.

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CORTELYOU ACCEPTED FULL RESPONSIBILITY

Told Senators He Was Sure Improper Contributions Were Not Made.

His Side of Campaign.

Insisted It Was Clean and Said He Never Visited Wall Street.

George B. Cortelyou refused yesterday to make a public statement concerning the disclosures by Senator Boies Penrose at Washington on Wednesday on the ground that his testimony before the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections on July 11 contains everything that his memory retains concerning the subjects under discussion. Mr. Cortelyou believes that his full testimony before the Senate committee in July contains passages that have never been printed in the published extracts of his testimony and that this heretofore unpublished testimony is a complete answer to charges from any source.

Friends of Mr. Cortelyou who understand his position say that he has cleared up for them the testimony by witnesses who followed him before the Senate committee as well as certain allegations by Senator Penrose. Mr. Cortelyou has explained to them features of the campaign of 1904 about which he was not questioned, as well as other points of his testimony not heretofore brought out. Mr. Cortelyou has said that while the collection of contributions in no way came under his supervision, or within his knowledge except when certain occurrences of no special consequence at the time brought to mind within his knowledge, he is willing to take full responsibility, since Cornelius N. Bliss, the treasurer, is dead, and can make no reply to certain statements that have been made.

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(telyou was before the committee Senator Leask asked him if he knew Mr. Archibald, and he replied:

"I never met Mr. Archibald until long after I had left here and gone to New York, unless I may have met him among the thousands of others who came during a long series of years to Washington."

Mr. Cortelyou's testimony before the committee also contains this question and reply:

Senator Leask—In the questions that were asked by the chairman relative to the contributions by various so-called trusts—questions that have been asked very often before of assistants, included what you said that there were no money contributed by any of these